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ABSTRACT

Ways in which restructuring approaches to school improvement are likely to promote advances in educational equity are discussed in this paper. The first sections briefly define restructuring and equity and examine three ethics that drive efforts to make schools more equitable: competitive/utilitarian, social justice, and caring ethics. A literature review examines measures that offer the most hope for enhancing equity. Current initiatives to restructure schooling fall into two areas: (1) fundamental changes in how learning, education, and schooling are conceived; and (2) specific changes in structures and learning processes in schools. One figure and 18 endnotes are included. (Contains 123 references.) (LMI)

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Restructuring Schooling: The Equity Infrastructure

by

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Occasional Paper No. 14

June 1992

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OP#1 ***Re-Thinking School Leadership: An Agenda for Research and Reform*** **by Lee G. Bolman, Susan Moore Johnson, Jerome T. Murphy, and Carol H. Weiss; Harvard University (February 1990), 42 pages**

This paper presents a basic model of the relationship between leadership, situation, and outcomes. Personal characteristics of leaders and the situation in which leaders find themselves both influence what leaders do, which in turn influences the kinds of outcomes that they produce. Embedded in the model are three questions: "What is good school leadership?" "How does good school leadership come about?" and "What will good school leadership mean in the future?" Systematic ways of approaching these questions are also presented.

OP#2 ***Preparing School Administrators for the Twenty-First Century: The Reform Agenda*** **by Joseph Murphy; Vanderbilt University (May 1990), 47 pages**

In the second wave of school reform reports and studies of the 1980s, much attention has been directed to issues of school administration and leadership. Yet, to date, no comprehensive analysis of these calls for changes in school administration has been undertaken. The purpose of this paper is to provide such a review. The goals of the paper are threefold: (1) to explain the reasons for the calls for reform of school administration, (2) to review the major studies and reports on education reform from 1982 to 1988 and (3) to discuss educational administration reform issues that need further attention.

OP#3 ***What Makes a Difference? School Context, Principal Leadership, and Student Achievement*** **by Philip Hallinger, Leonard Bickman, and Ken Davis; Vanderbilt University (June 1990), 35 pages**

This paper addresses the general question, what makes a difference in school learning? We report the results of a secondary analysis of data collected as part of the Tennessee School Improvement Incentives Project. We utilized the instructional leadership model developed by researchers at the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development to guide our analyses. This conceptual model makes provision for analysis of principal leadership in relation to features of the school environment, school-level organization, and student outcomes. The paper focuses on the following research questions: (1) What antecedents appear to influence principal leadership behavior? (2) What impact does principal leadership have on the organization and its outcomes? (3) To what extent is the Far West Lab's instructional leadership framework supported empirically by the data collected in this study?

OP#4 ***School Restructuring: A Case Study In Teacher Empowerment*** **by Katherine C. Boles; Harvard University (September 1990), 58 pages**

School districts around the country are in the process of initiating projects to restructure their schools. A small but growing number of these restructuring projects have been

initiated by teachers, but as yet little has been written documenting the experience of classroom practitioners involved in such efforts. The purpose of this study is to add teachers' voices to the literature on restructuring. This project restructured a portion of a school and altered the work of a group of third and fourth grade teachers.

OP#5 ***Educational Reform in the 1980s: Explaining Some Surprising Success*** **by Joseph Murphy; Vanderbilt University (September 1990), 28 pages**

In this paper issues of success and failure of reform initiatives are discussed from both sides of the aisle. The paper begins with a review of the financial, political, and organizational factors which normally support the position that reform measures are likely to result in few substantive improvements. Next, the argument is made that educational reform recommendations have been surprisingly successful, and some speculations as to the reasons for this unexpected outcome are presented.

OP#6 ***New Settings and Changing Norms for Principal Development*** **by Philip Hallinger; Vanderbilt University and Robert Wimpelberg; University of New Orleans (January 1991), 32 pages**

Recently analysts have identified a variety of features that distinguish emerging administrative training programs from traditional ones. The rapid, but non-systematic growth in organizations providing administrative development services during the 1980's led to considerable natural variation in programmatic content as well as in organizational processes. In particular, significant variations emerged in the operation of state-sponsored leadership academies and local principals' centers. The purpose of this paper is to analyze variations in current approaches to educational leadership development. The paper addresses three questions: (1) What is the range of variation among emerging staff development programs for school leaders on dimensions of program content and organizational process? (2) What can we learn from the naturally occurring variations in administrative development? (3) What are the most likely and promising directions for administrative development programs in the next decade?

OP#7 ***Images of Leadership*** **by Lee G. Bolman; Harvard University and Terrence E. Deal; Vanderbilt University (January 1991), 21 pages**

This project has undertaken a major study of the "frames," or orientations, that leaders use to guide their understanding of their work. The investigators have developed a set of survey instruments to measure four leadership orientations (structural, human resource, political, and symbolic), and collected data from leaders and their constituents in both education and the private sector. Their research results show that the four leadership orientations do capture significant elements of how leaders approach their task, and that those leadership variables are significantly associated with effectiveness. The results further show that the variables which predict effectiveness as a *manager* are different from those that predict effectiveness as a *leader*. In particular, structural and rational orientations are primarily predictive of manager effectiveness. This research was reported at the AERA meeting in April, 1990.

OP#8 *Trouble in Paradise: Teacher Conflicts in Shared Decision Making* **by Carol H. Weiss, Joseph Cambone, and Alexander Wyeth; Harvard University (April 1991), 26 pages**

Many educators advocate teacher participation in school decision-making as one strategy for improving schools. Through interviews with teachers and administrators in high schools that have adopted some version of shared decision making, the authors locate both advantages and disadvantages. Advantages center on great commitment and "ownership" of decisions. Disadvantages include, besides heavy time demands, the necessity for teachers to confront and negotiate with each other, a process that requires skills many teachers lack. There may also be conflicts with administrators, often because of unclear definitions of authority and responsibility. Suggestions are made for overcoming such problems.

OP#9 *Restructuring Schools: Fourteen Elementary and Secondary Teachers' Perspectives on Reform* **by Joseph Murphy, Carolyn M. Evertson, and Mary L. Radnofsky; Vanderbilt University (May 1991), 34 pages**

Few efforts have been made to inject classroom teachers' voices into discussions on restructuring. In this article, we report on one exploratory study that begins to address this oversight. We interviewed 14 teachers from diverse backgrounds about their views on the restructuring movement in general. We wanted to hear what they thought of the concept and to determine what effects they anticipated in restructuring schools. We also elicited their perceptions about what changes they would make in both the schools and classrooms if they were thrust into a school undergoing restructuring. We found that, while in some ways the views of these teachers were consistent with prevailing perspectives in the restructuring movement, in other cases, their preferences were at odds with the general body of literature on restructuring. We concluded that, while these teachers are optimistic about the possibilities of fundamental school reform, they remain skeptical about their ability to change the current educational system.

OP#10 *The Effects of the Educational Reform Movement on Departments of Educational Leadership* **by Joseph Murphy; Vanderbilt University (May 1991), 34 pages**

This paper reviews the types of revisions that preparation programs in educational leadership have begun to make in response to three related sets of pressures brought on by the reform movement of the 1980s: pressures bearing on school administrators from the larger reform agenda, i.e., improving education across the board; general critiques of and calls for improvement in educational leadership; and specific analyses and demands for change in administrator preparation programs. The results are based on questionnaires completed by 74 chairpersons in departments of educational leadership. The emerging picture is mixed. On the one hand, departments of educational administration have begun to respond to the pressures for change. In addition, for better or worse, discernable patterns in these revisions are generally consistent with the implicit demands for improvement that lace the critical reviews of the field and with the more explicit recommendations contained in the NPBEA and NCEEA reform reports. On the other hand, the response has been moderate (at best) in intensity and mixed in focus.

OP#11 ***A Typology of the Assistant Principal: A Model of Orientation to the Administrative Career*** **by Catherine Marshall; Vanderbilt University, Barbara Mitchell; School District of Philadelphia, and Richard Gross; Boyertown Senior High School, Pennsylvania (June 1991), 30 pages**

This paper describes the working lives of twenty assistant principals, exploring the interactions between personal values and organizational contexts. School districts' individual norms and traditions present unique conditions, restraints, and possibilities for these new administrators, who respond in a variety of ways. The study identifies five distinct career orientations, linking the administrators' early socialization experiences and their eventual mobility. This typology, derived from a variety of case studies, provides a basis for structuring recruitment, training, support, and selection practices for aspirants to administrative careers. This approach can inform school districts' approaches to staff development as well as individuals' career choices.

OP#12 ***The Cultural Chasm Between Administrator and Teacher Cultures: A Micropolitical Puzzle*** **by Catherine Marshall; University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (April 1992), 29 pages**

This paper examines the complex relationships between teachers and school administrators from a micropolitical perspective. Public schools have long enforced a bureaucratic separation of roles, professional status, socialization, and training, leading to value conflicts and factionalism. The move from teaching to administration can be especially traumatic, involving alienation from one peer group and gradual acceptance into another. Through analysis of interviews with new administrators, the authors explore the underlying causes of these conflicts and shifts in perspective. To what extent do teachers and administrators differ in their understandings of school culture? How do new school leaders acquire the political skills and attitudes inherent to administration, and how do these attitudes affect interactions with teachers?

OP#13 ***Developing the Thinking Strategies of Instructional Leaders*** **by Philip Hallinger; Vanderbilt University, C.E. McCary; Durham North Carolina Schools (March 1992), 23 pages**

In light of the critical role that principals play in school improvement, the inadequacy of current principal preparation presents a major problem for policy and practice. This article examines emerging research on instructional leadership and call for leadership training that emphasizes strategic thinking. The authors argue that research must address the reasoning that underlies the exercise of leadership, rather than describe discrete behaviors of effective leaders.

The article includes a description of a computer simulation designed to facilitate the transfer from research to the practice of leadership. The simulation model asks aspiring principals to choose a combination of improvement strategies using research-based cost and benefit information. The authors discuss their experiences with the simulation and offer suggestions for the design and delivery of administrative training and development.

OP#14 ***Restructuring Schooling: The Equity Infrastructure*** **by Joseph Murphy, Vanderbilt University, (June 1992), 33 pages**

This report discusses how restructuring approaches to school improvement are likely to promote further advances in educational equity. The report briefly defines restructuring

and equity, examines three ethics driving attempts to transform schools for greater equity, and reviews the restructuring literature to examine measures that offer the most hope for enhancing equity. The relevant information for this report came from literature in educational policy, school improvement, school restructuring, and school reform.

Equity issues are at the center of current initiatives to restructure schooling. These initiatives are in two areas: (1) fundamental changes in how we conceive of learning, education, and schooling and (2) specific changes in structures and learning processes in schools.

CASE STUDIES

CS#1 ***The Prince and the Principal*** will serve as a powerful discussion piece for aspiring or practicing administrators, as well as for teachers interested in leadership. In it, a new principal begins her tenure at a troubled Chicago elementary school, met with resistance and animosity from a group of "old guard" teachers. Eager to correct what she sees as glaring problems, she feels herself blocked in all efforts to effect positive change, from minor improvements to more significant school restructuring. After a series of frustrations, she makes a decisive but risky change in perspective and strategy. The case focuses on the most difficult challenge faced by new leaders: to reconcile one's emerging skills and understanding to an idiosyncratic school culture. Topics for discussion include: the importance of gaining the support of teachers, parents, and other administrators; the value of setting clear goals for improvement; and the decision to persist despite the slow pace of change.

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Restructuring Schooling: The Equity Infrastructure

by
Joseph Murphy

Introduction

Throughout its history, especially the history of educational reform, the American educational system has been shaped by a small group of policy goals and public values.[1] For example, Mitchell and Encarnation (1984) discuss the importance of three educational policy goals--quality, efficiency, and equity--in helping form the educational agenda. Sergiovanni and his colleagues (1987) add a fourth value--liberty--to the array of the most prevalent policy options. Even a casual reading of educational history reveals that these different values have received disproportionate attention during the various eras of schooling in this country. For example, efficiency was a dominant educational policy theme in the 1920s and 1930s (Callahan, 1962; Campbell, Fleming, Newell, & Bennion, 1987). Liberty held sway through much of the 1940s (Beck & Murphy, in press), equity during the Great Society era of the mid-to-late 1960s and early 1970s, and excellence in the post-Sputnick era of the late 1950s and early 1960s (Mitchell & Encarnation, 1984; Passow, 1984; Powell, Farrar, & Cohen, 1985).

Equity and the Standards Raising Movement: Laying the Foundation

Following this line of analysis, it is generally held that the reform era of the 1980s, the so called standards raising movement (Sedlak, Wheeler, Pullin, Cusick, 1986), was a time in which concern for excellence moved to the forefront of the policy agenda again (Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986; Coombs, 1987; Mitchell & Encarnation, 1984). Equally important, it was widely argued that this focus on quality was accompanied by a disinterest in, if not hostile neglect of equity issues (Green, 1987). While there is some degree of truth to these claims, it appears that, for a variety of reasons, including viewing reform phenomena with inappropriate lenses, they are drawn too starkly (see Murphy, 1989a). That is, even while focusing on excellence, reform

initiatives in the 1980s made significant contributions to enhancing equity within schools--contributions that were in many ways much more fundamental and extensive than those garnered from activities in earlier eras that focused more directly on issues of inequality. In this way, the standards raising era of the 1980s gave birth to equity principles that, in turn, are shaping more overt attacks on issues of inequality during the current era of school restructuring.

While it is beyond the scope of this paper to develop this position completely (see Murphy, 1989b), I argue that the excellence measures, built as they were from raw materials supplied by the teacher effects and school effectiveness "movements," contributed three fundamental principles to the educational system, all of which offer great promise for addressing inequities in our schools.[2] Furthermore, I maintain that all three were necessary prerequisites for enhancing equity via the avenues commonly employed in the current restructuring movement. That is, without these principles in place, efforts of the 1990s to address inequalities will likely be no more successful than previous attacks on inequity in schools.

The first of these points, the educability of students principle, is the notion that all students can learn. This principle has helped erode the prevailing, heavily buttressed core infrastructure of schooling created by behavioral psychologists over the last century. It thus undergirds attempts in the restructuring movement to forge "a new attitude toward the disadvantaged learner" (United States Department of Education, 1991, p. 6) and to promote equity based on constructivist or cognitive psychological and social models of student learning.

The second contribution, the school accountability principle, is a corollary of the first. "Since the beginning of public education," Cuban (1989, p. 781) reminds us, "poor academic performance and deviant behavior have been defined as problems of individual children or their families." The excellence movement, again drawing heavily upon the school effectiveness research,[3] helped produce an alternative mindset that goes far in the quest for greater equity, one that "shifted the focus of efforts to deal with poor academic performance among low income minorities from the child to the school"[4] (p. 781). This perspective has greatly contributed to attempts to transform existing organizational and

governance structures and work relationships in schools--key components of restructuring efforts to address equity issues.

The final fundamental contribution from the standards raising movement is the notion of promoting equity through holistic reform efforts (Murphy, Hallinger, & Mesa, 1985), the equity through integration principle. Previous efforts to promote equity attempted to assist selected student populations through disparate educational programs that were not well integrated with the central activities and the core technology of schools (United States Department of Education, 1991).[5] The excellence movement of the 1980s empowered disadvantaged families and students by once again making them part of the whole (Murphy, 1989b). This perspective on equity helped lay the foundation for the "systemic" reform movement which permeates discussions of school restructuring (see for example Smith & O'Day, 1991) and the more visible approaches to restructuring for equity, such as Essential Schools, the regular education initiative, Accelerated Schools, the cognitive apprenticeship, and so forth.

Equity and School Restructuring: Expanding the Attack

Although critics who found little evidence of attempts to promote equity in the excellence movement of the 1980s appear to have missed the mark, their conclusions about heightened attacks on the problems of poor and minority students in restructuring initiatives are more on target. In retrospect, while considerable attention to equity is visible in the excellence reforms of the 1980s, much of it is in the background, deeply embedded in the structure of the reforms, and hidden behind the rhetoric of higher quality (Murphy, 1989c). In contrast, equity is a foreground issue in the restructuring literature. Fueled by a confluence of powerful ethics (Beck, 1991), documentation of the threadbare state of the economic and social fabric (Hodgkinson, 1991; Kirst, McLaughlin, & Massell, 1989; Murphy, 1990), and disgruntlement with the absence of more direct attention to equity issues (Green, 1987; McDill, Natriello, & Pallas, 1985; Natriello, McDill, & Pallas, 1990), reformers turned their attention to the problems of poor, minority, linguistically different, and other students for whom schools have historically been less than effective (Tyack, 1974; Petrie, 1990). Direct reference to equity began to

pepper the reform literature of the late 1980s and early 1990s with some regularity. Reform reports and documents, heretofore relatively silent on these matters, pushed equity onto center stage. Equity became a key component of general reform reports (Carnegie Council, 1989) and an issue worthy of treatment in its own right (Committee on Policy for Racial Justice, 1989; Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990). Reform initiatives of this era began to reflect this interest (Murphy, 1991) as did many of the leading nationally-known educational interventions; for example the Success For All project at Johns Hopkins University and Accelerated Schools at Stanford University.

In the remainder of this paper I discuss how restructuring approaches to improvement are likely to promote further advances of the equity agenda. I begin with a brief overview of what I mean by restructuring and equity. Next, I examine the confluence of three ethics that are providing the driving force behind attempts to transform schooling for greater equity. I complete my analysis by reviewing the restructuring literature to examine measures that offer the most hope for enhancing equity.

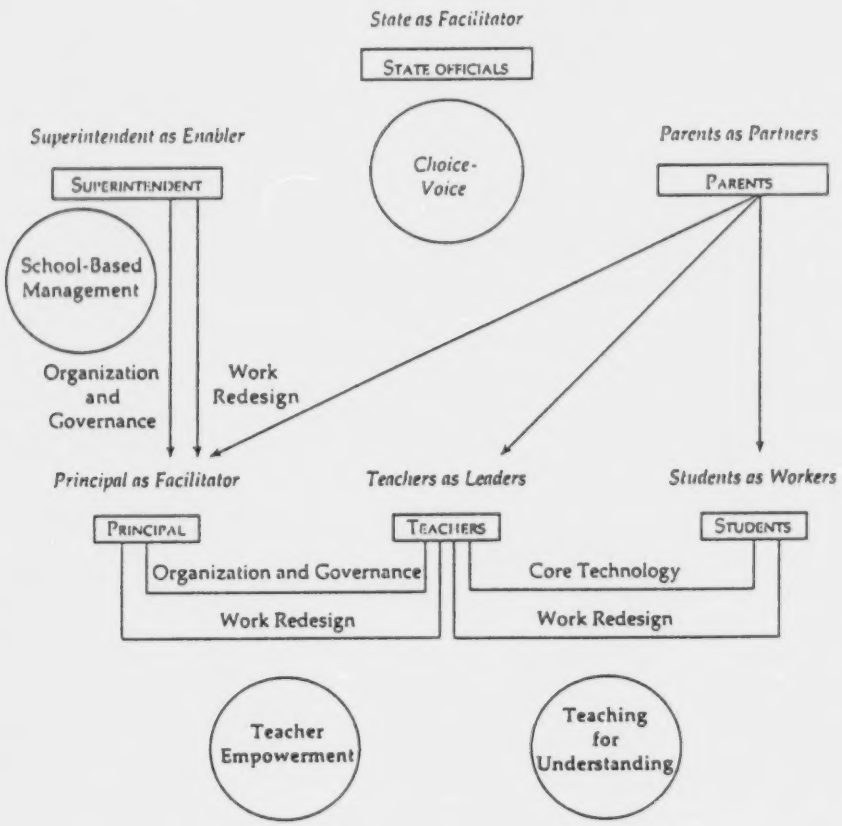
Restructuring and Equity: Unpacking the Terms

Restructuring

One of the most common refrains one hears about "restructuring" is that it is an amorphous concept, that it includes everything and therefore means nothing[6]--that it means different things at different times to different people. While there are threads of accuracy in this position, it is important to recognize that the type of "transformational" change embedded in the restructuring literature, in addition to radically altering the basic structure of schooling, covers a lot of ground. It is difficult to envision an improvement of this magnitude that would fail to touch most aspects of the educational enterprise. What seems more useful than haggling over definitions is to flesh out the contours of the movement so that we know whether we are on similar ground or not. Two avenues appear promising. The first is to model the concept in a rather straightforward fashion.

The framework of restructuring which shapes our thinking about equity is contained in Figure 1 (Murphy, 1991).[7] The boxes represent the key actors: state officials, superintendent, principal, parents, teachers, and students. The lines connecting the various players are designed to explicate some of the predominant components of restructuring: changes in the design of work, alterations in organization and governance structures, and revisions to the core technology. The circles--school-based management (SBM), choice, teacher empowerment, and teaching for understanding--represent the four most prevalent strategies employed in restructuring schools. The italicized phrases, e.g., teachers as leaders, parents as partners, are the new metaphors of restructuring.

Figure 1. Restructuring schools: A conceptual framework.



From J. Murphy, *Restructuring schools: Capturing and assessing the phenomena*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1991, (p.16).

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A second strategy is to highlight educational dimensions and features that look different in restructured schools than they do in the schools we have now (see Murphy, 1991, chapters 2-5 and Murphy, in press, chapter 5 for more complete discussions). Following this path, we discover at the outset that restructuring encompasses a basic change in the relationship between the school and its larger environment. Historically ingrained conceptions of schools as sheltered monopolies are pushed off stage by market forces. Schools become more entrepreneurial, less regulated, and more integrated with other educational, community, and service institutions and agencies (Boyd, 1990; Sykes & Elmore, 1989). Restructured schools are organized, governed, and managed in new ways. Hierarchical, bureaucratic organizational structures and principles that have defined schooling for the better part of this century give way to more decentralized, more organic, and more professionally controlled systems (Clark & Meloy, 1989; Sergiovanni, 1991; Weick & McDaniel, 1989). In the area of teaching and learning, there is a radical departure from the industrial heritage of teaching as telling and learning as passive consumption (Cohen, 1988; Fisher, 1990). In restructured schools, knowledge is not something handed down from teacher to learner, but something that is mutually constructed to help decipher experiences (Bransford, Franks, Vye, & Sherwood, 1989; Marshall, 1989; Petrie, 1990).

Equity

Equity also means different things to different people--and different things at different times. A political scientist, a teacher, an economist, and a critical theorist are all likely to embrace different views of equity, or at least to highlight different aspects of the concept. The focus of our concern here is the student, the extent that restructuring promotes or retards equity in pupils' learning in classrooms and schools. Using this perspective, we are able to discern three distinct but overlapping definitions of equity, each receiving heightened attention during selected historical periods. The first definition, equity as access to schooling, began with the common school movement, continued through the era of expanded access to schooling for minorities and

handicapped students, and to a lesser extent is still visible in areas such as access to schooling for illegal aliens (Murphy & Hallinger, 1989).

The second definition, equity as equality of aggregated resources, focuses on questions about the distribution of selective resources to students, especially money. While this perspective on equity enjoys a long history, it rose to prominence with the establishment of equalization grants in state foundation plans for resource allocation in the 1920s and 1930s, and is discernible today in the continuing movement to develop fiscally neutral state finance systems and to provide additional funds to cover the higher costs of educating less-advantaged students (LaMorte & Williams, 1985; Murphy & Hack, 1983).

The third and still emerging definition, equity as access to learning, focuses on the distribution of alterable educational variables such as time, quality of instruction, course content covered, and homework rather than on the allocation of aggregated resources per se (Murphy & Hallinger, 1984). Attention is directed to determine if factors which are correlated with student performance are being distributed in an evenhanded manner. Under this third generation conception of equity, we are concerned with how curricula and instruction are distributed to different groups of students (Goodlad, 1984; Oakes, 1985; Page, 1984). My focus in this paper is primarily on this more advanced conception of equity, access to favorable conditions of learning.[8]

The Ethics of Equity in Restructuring

In this section of the paper, I examine the forces that have caused the restructuring reform spotlight to be focused directly on issues of equity.

The Competitive/Utilitarian Ethic

At least three distinct, and traditionally somewhat incompatible, ethics have pushed educational equity to the foreground in the restructuring literature. The first, grounded in economics, is the competitive/utilitarian ethic. The belief that the United States is slipping from its preeminent position in the world economy has been widely

promulgated over the last dozen years (see Murphy, 1990 for a review). Schools have been accused of being part of the problem as well as part of the solution (Guthrie & Kirst, 1988). "The connection between these two streams of thought [the nation's economic strength and the quality of schooling] is strong and growing."[9] The maxim of "economic salvation through educational excellence" (Mitchell, 1990, p. 28) has become entrenched in the reform literature.[10]

Historically, the response under these conditions has been directed toward improving quality, highlighting the social policy tool of excellence. The changing demographic picture has, however, thrown a new wrinkle--the need to address equity--into the traditional reform algorithm. This shift can be traced to two factors. As we have already noted, historically schools have failed to educate a sizeable proportion of their students, especially disadvantaged, low-income, and minority pupils. However, because the "American workforce is running out of qualified workers" (Kearnes, 1988, p. 566), there are now "no children to waste . . . each one must become a successful adult if the economy, the work force, and the military--indeed the nation as a whole--are to thrive" (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 8). At the same time, the social fabric is changing. The proportion of the student population that is classified as "at risk" is increasing at a steep clip (Clark, 1990). Thus enhanced quality, or excellence, can only be gained if the performance of historically marginalized students rises dramatically. The competitive ethic is, therefore, for the first time in history, contributing to the equity agenda.[11]

The Social Justice Ethic

The ethic of social justice, based in law, is increasingly finding voice in discussions of educational reform. Part of the impetus derives from an elevated conception of humanity that is embedded in post-industrial world views (Banathy, 1988; Purpel, 1989). Part also evolves from the damming press of increasingly difficult to ignore statistics which reveal inequities in the distribution of society's ills, such as poverty, drug abuse, teen pregnancies, broken homes, low birth weight children, and so forth (Hodgkinson, 1991; Kirst, McLaughlin & Massell, 1989; Wagstaff & Gallagher, 1990). The interest in educational equity as a manifestation of the social justice ethic can also be traced to the

increasing political clout of minority groups. In recent years, leaders in both academic and government circles have been challenged to construct just policies which protect the rights of all teachers and students (Kozol, 1991). Additionally, they have been asked to go beyond mere policy development and to examine the ways such policies are implemented. If and when such an examination reveals that guidelines purporting to ensure equity are, in fact, failing to do that, educational policy makers are being asked to take corrective measures so that the intention of achieving equality in response to a social justice ethic can be achieved (Oakes, 1985; Oakes & Wells, 1991). As has been the case when the ethic of social justice has surfaced in the past, it can be a powerful force for keeping the equity agenda at the forefront of reform.

The Caring Ethic[12]

An ethic of caring, emphasized by a diverse group of scholars, has also influenced calls for enhancing equity and restructuring the ways schools operate. In recent years, feminist scholars (e.g., Brabeck, 1989; Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 1984, 1988; Shakeshaft, 1987) have been especially vocal in calling educators to embrace such educational goals as promoting optimum development of persons, adopting techniques and strategies congruent with this goal, and rethinking qualities to be sought and cultivated in administrators and teachers. Arguing that the well-being of individuals, groups, and their larger communities are inextricably linked, these authors assert that policies emphasizing equity of access to developmental opportunities will result when caring is emphasized. Others who view caring as an impetus for equity argue that education is intrinsically and traditionally an enterprise which recognizes the inherent value of all persons. For Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton (1984), Palmer (1983), Starratt (1991), and others, the goals of honoring "the dignity of each person" and of seeking to ensure "that each person enjoy a fully human life" (Starratt, 1991, p. 195) are legitimate educational goals requiring a commitment to compassionate equity. Still others emphasize the utility of striving for schools which are equitable, caring communities. Ashton and Webb (1986), Barth (1990), Grant (1988), Lightfoot (1983), Maeroff (1990), and others offer compelling evidence that students' academic achievement and teachers' sense of efficacy

are related to equitable structures and policies which allow for and promote caring relationships.

The Nature of Equity in Restructuring Schools

A fundamental tenet of this paper is that equity issues, as defined here, are at the center of current efforts to transform schooling. Building on earlier gains--especially on the groundwork laid during the 1980s--and buttressed by the three distinct ethics reviewed above, attacks on inequity in schooling are proceeding simultaneously on a number of fronts in the restructuring movement. Equally important yet unlike many times in the past, equity concerns are deeply ingrained in, rather than peripherally connected to, improvement efforts. For the purpose of discussion, I group these initiatives into two broad categories: larger level transformations in the basic fabric of schooling and more micro-level alterations in the learning and teaching processes unfolding in schools.

The Fabric of Schooling

New conceptions of learning, education, and schooling are being employed to reweave the tapestry we have come to know as schooling. The threads of equity are inseparably intertwined with changes in each of these three areas.

Cognitive views of learning. From the onset of the industrial revolution, education in the United States has been largely defined by a behavioral psychological model of learning. This viewpoint in turn nurtured the development of the factory and medical models of instruction which have dominated schooling throughout the twentieth century (Petrie, 1990; Schlechty, 1990). Under these two models, the belief that the role of schooling is to sort students into the able and less able--those who would work with their heads and those who would work with their hands (Goodlad, 1984)--became deeply embedded into the fabric of schooling (Oakes, 1985). Thus up to the era of restructuring, the actual operating goal of American society--whatever the ideal of rhetoric, or the commitment of individual schools or teachers--has been to provide

educational services for all children, but to expect a "bell curve" distribution of success, with large numbers of children falling in the "mediocre" or "failure" range. (Seeley, 1988, p. 34)

Using analytic lenses inherent in these models, in the best case, problems are traced to deficiencies or dysfunctions in individuals which are subject to diagnosis, treatment, and remediation--problems and "solutions for human predicaments are to be found almost exclusively within the self, leaving the social order conveniently unaffected" (Prilleltensky, 1989, p. 796). In the worst case, as Seeley (1988) reminds us, failure is the inevitable consequence of the model of learning emphasized. In neither case do equity issues as defined in this paper map onto the teaching/learning process itself.

A shift in the operant model of learning is a fundamental dynamic of restructuring schools (Elmore, 1989; Murphy, 1991), a movement which integrates equity issues into the general process of schooling. The behavioral psychological model that highlights the innate capacity of the learner is replaced by "cognitive or constructivist psychology" (Cohen, 1988, p. 19) and newer sociological perspectives on learning (Bransford, 1991), especially "social cognitive theories of motivation and achievement" (Maehr & Midgley, in press, p. 4). Under this approach to learning, which is at the heart of real restructuring efforts, schools which historically have been in the business of sorting and labeling students--of promoting student adaptation to the existing social order--are being transformed to ensure equality of opportunity for all learners. This evolution in our conception of student learning is a "fundamental component of a new vision for schools" (Seeley, 1988, p. 34), one in which excellence and equity are inseparably intertwined, or, as Shor (1986) puts it, one in which equality is excellence.

Human development views of education. The conception of education as human development is also finding considerable expression in restructured schools (Murphy, 1991; Schlechty, 1990). Three dynamics at the core of this phenomena--changing views of knowledge, developmentally paced conceptions of learning, and the personalization of schooling--offer particular promise for embedding equity issues into the infrastructure of tomorrow's schools. To begin with, education as human development is undergirded by fairly radical changes in assumptions about knowledge, both in terms of what

knowledge is valued and how it is acquired. The well entrenched belief that "knowledge can be assumed to be an external entity existing independently of human thought and action, and hence, something about which one can be objective" (Fisher, 1990, p. 82) "has begun to be critically examined in a new way" (p. 84). A new view which holds that "knowledge is a human creation rather than a human reception" (Cohen, 1988) is taking root. Knowledge in the human development conception of education is mutually constructed by learners and teachers (Cognition and Technology Group, 1990; Marshall, in press). It "depends on the values of the persons working with it and the context within which the work is conducted" (Fisher, 1990, p. 82; Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989, Collins, Hawkins, & Carver, 1991). Knowledge is a socially constructed phenomenon (Bransford, 1991).

Also underlying the emerging conception of education as human development is a reorientation toward developmentally paced approaches to learning and the personalization of schooling (Murphy, 1991). Central to the developmental perspective is the idea of education as a continuous process--one that acknowledges both the "educability of humanity" (Purpel, 1989, p. 10) and the personal construction of knowledge. Advancement thus has more to do with personal engagement and the learning context than with pre-established definitions of knowledge and artificial boundaries such as age, grade level, years of experience, and so forth. Personalization in turn has to do with the humanization of the organizational climate (Harvey & Crandall, 1988). It reinforces the view of education as human development unfolding within social communities of learning (Barth, 1986; Bransford, 1991). Personalization focuses on "building capabilities of people . . . and encouraging them to develop the ways and means for using their capabilities" (Sergiovanni, 1989, p. 39) and on the establishment of positive social bonds that promote authentic engagement with intellectual tasks by all members of the school community (Carnegie Council, 1989; Newmann, 1991; Sizer, 1984).

Democratic views of schooling. A renewed emphasis on democratic processes and procedures is also helping to cement equity pillars into the structure of transformational reform efforts. These emerging forms and processes trace their evolution to scathing

attacks on the hierarchical, bureaucratic procedures and methods that have dominated the organization and management of education throughout the industrial age--in much the same way that the behavioral model established our understanding of the core technology (Murphy, 1991).

Many critics of schooling maintain that traditional forms of organizing activities contribute to the negligence that characterizes the educational enterprise. They find that the bureaucratic system of organizing human effort, because it inhibits the development of a professional culture, promotes inequalities between administrators and teachers (Clark & Meloy, 1989; Frymier, 1987, Weick & McDaniel, 1989) that are mirrored in relationships between teachers and students (McNeil, 1988; Sedlak, et al., 1986). Reviewers find that "bureaucratic controls . . . undermine educational goals" (McNeil, 1988, p. 34) and that "bureaucratic management practices . . . cause unacceptable distortions in the educational process" (Wise, 1989, p. 301)--that collectively they are "paralyzing American education . . . and getting in the way of children's learning" (Sizer, 1984, p. 209). Particular attention is devoted to explaining how these practices inhibit the creation of more equitable curricular structures (Cuban, 1989). Analysts specifically question the place of bureaucracy in a democratic society and in schools that are expected to model and promulgate democratic ideas (Bolin, 1989; Foster, 1989; McDonald, 1988). They find a hierarchical model of management to be incompatible with the development of the critical pedagogy required to address inequities in the larger society (Foster, 1989; Giroux, 1988). In total, reviewers find considerable evidence that bureaucratic management practices fuel inequities in students' access to learning (Cuban, 1989; Oakes, 1985; Sedlak, et al., 1986).

In restructured schools, the hierarchical model of organization is pushed off center stage by "a new paradigm [of] school organization and management" (Mulkeen, 1990, p. 105). At the heart of this post-industrial model, labeled heterarchy by Maccoby (1989) and adaptive by Louis and Miles (1990), are more collaborative, more professionally controlled, and more decentralized management systems (Beare, 1989; Clark & Meloy, 1989; Sergiovanni, 1991) that help weave equity strands deeply into the new tapestry of schooling. By changing the culture of schooling to promote critical, collaborative

reflection and experimentation among staff and students, the heterarchical model spotlights the development of community, democratic action, and equity as access to rich conceptions of learning at the classroom level.

Learning and Teaching Processes

Up to this point in our discussion of the nature of equity, we have been concentrating on the reconstruction of the underlying infrastructure of schooling--of fundamental changes in how we conceive of learning, education, and schooling. In this final section of the paper, we examine specific elements of the restructuring movement emanating from these larger forces that promise to enhance educational equity as I define it; that is, to promote more equal access to the favorable conditions of learning, especially for classes of students that have not profited much from schooling in the past. I focus on the creation of emancipatory structures in schools, the generation of an elevated conception of studenting,[13] and the development of powerful new forms and methods of learning.

Emancipatory structures. New forms of organizing human activities are facilitating equity goals throughout the educational system. These structures are of two types: expanded services developing in response to a growing awareness that schooling is but one element in a complex web of social services needed by children and young adults in order to succeed and basic alterations in the operating structures of schooling itself. On the first issue, in re-inventing schools for tomorrow, considerable energy is being invested on the conditions of children in our society (Kirst, 1989). In response, children's policy and family policy issues are receiving significantly more attention than they have in the past (Kirst, McLaughlin, & Massell, 1989; Mitchell & Cunningham, 1990). In practical terms in restructuring schools this means, among other things, the development of better coordination among the array of social services agencies that assist children and their families. Consistent with this interprofessional (Cunningham & Dunn, 1987), integrated approach to assisting students, structures and procedures are being developed to expand both the amount of time and the variety of services available to pupils. The definition of schooling is being extended to include working with much younger children than

schools have traditionally taught. At the same time, schooling is being expanded to serve children for longer periods of time each day and for an extended number of days each week and weeks each year (Murphy, 1991; Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990).

In terms of altering existing operating structures, a number of changes are occurring in restructuring schools that augur well for enhanced access to valued knowledge for all students. "Pull-out" instructional arrangements used to provide compensatory educational services, long acknowledged as a source of inequity in schools (Committee on Policy for Racial Justice, 1989; Johnston, Allinger, & Afflerbach, 1985; Kimbrough & Hill, 1983; United States Department of Education, 1991), are being replaced in restructuring schools by new organizational forms that provide targeted students with additional services within the context of the regular program.[14] Nontraditional patterns of grouping pupils within classes are also prominent in restructuring schools. There is less emphasis on homogeneous grouping by ability and greater reliance on cooperative strategies that regularly mix students of differing abilities and different races and socio-economic backgrounds (David, 1989; Murphy, 1991).

In restructuring schools, the basic organizational building blocks are also being recast in ways that directly address long-standing equity concerns. The self-contained elementary school classroom arranged according to student age--a practice that has drawn sharp criticism in recent years (Cuban, 1989; Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990; Sizer, 1984)--is being rethought in schools throughout the country. Ungraded, multi-age classroom patterns are becoming increasingly prevalent (Watkins & Lusi, 1989). Parallel efforts are underway to address inequalities resulting from impersonal, bureaucratic arrangements at the secondary level. Inequitable allocation of the favorable conditions of learning caused by organizing students by age and ability levels and packaging instruction around academic departments are being addressed by reorganizing schools into smaller operating units, usually schools-within-schools, houses, or alternative programs within schools (Carnegie Council, 1989; Corcoran, 1989). Changes at both levels of schooling enhance equity by creating smaller and more humane organizational forms that help reduce isolation and bond students to schooling by

personalizing education (Carnegie Council, 1989; Powell, Farrar, & Cohen, 1985; Sizer, 1984, 1989).[15]

Other structural transformations which offer promise of engaging pupils in authentic intellectual activities and thus extend hope of promoting equity values include reduced attention to inflexible pedagogical formats, a de-emphasis on the Carnegie unit as the measure of attainment, and reduced instructional loads for teachers. On the one hand, schools engaged in transformational efforts are becoming less reliant on "a welter of 20-to-50 minute segments devoted to separate subjects" (Elmore, 1988, p. 13). They are "discovering that using the pedagogy of student as worker [is] facilitated by having larger blocks of time" (Watkins & Lusi, 1989, p. 5). At the same time, efforts to bring "the structure of classrooms and schools into conformity with the best available knowledge about teaching and learning" (Elmore, 1989, p. 15) has led restructuring schools to experiment with alternatives time-based, such as calendar-based learning arrangements formalized in existing structures such as the Carnegie unit (Sizer, 1989; Spady, 1988). Finally, based on a growing acceptance of the belief that excellence and equity policy goals can only be reached if the conditions of teachers are improved (Boyer, 1983; Holmes, 1986; National Commission for Excellence in Teacher Education, 1985), strategies to reduce the instructional load of teachers are a central component of a number of restructuring efforts throughout the country (Harvey & Crandall, 1988; McCarthey & Peterson, 1989; Moore-Johnson, 1988).

Elevated conception of studenting. One important shift lies between all of the changes described above and the new conception of technical core activities outlined below. In many ways, it is the fundamental transformation from which all restructuring efforts draw energy and develop form. It is central to the equity infrastructure of restructuring schools. I refer to the changing conception of the student role in schools undertaking transformational reform. As noted above, throughout the behavioral-industrial era knowledge has been viewed as something external to students that was transmitted to them through their teachers. In this "sage on stage" (Fisher, 1990, p. 83) or "pipeline for Truth" (Cohen, 1988, p. 12) model, the student role is that of passive receiver of information. Students are viewed as raw material to be shaped by others into

final products. Instruction becomes "a pedagogy of adaptation, a bureaucratic task, [and] an antidemocratic routine" (Cavalcante, 1991, p. 26), all of which, as we have seen, are incompatible with equity values. Meaningful student engagement in turn is generally conspicuous by its absence. A "conspiracy of convenience" (Sizer, 1984, p. 154) prevails and "a complex, tacit conspiracy to avoid sustained, rigorous, demanding, academic inquiry" (Sedlak, et al., 1986, p. 5) leads to a cycle of "pervasive disengagement" (Newmann, 1991, p. 459)--a cycle that, because it is especially injurious to less advantaged students (Murphy, 1991), exacerbates already existing inequities in access to the favorable conditions of learning.

Central to the conception of studenting which is at the heart of restructuring efforts is a recasting of the roles students play in transformed schools.[16] Pupils are no longer thought of primarily as raw materials on which others perform prescribed activities. They are no longer simply passive consumers in a world over which they exercise little control. In restructuring schools, "the prime worker is not the teacher--it is the student" (Seeley, 1988, p. 7). Students become critical thinkers and transformative actors (Cavalcante, 1991).

The concept of "student as worker" has profoundly different pedagogical implications from current conceptions of teacher as worker and student as product (Hawley, 1989; Sizer, 1984). All changes in curriculum and instruction in restructuring schools are designed to "orient schools and the people who work in them toward serious, sustained engagement in academic learning" (Elmore, 1989, p. 11). What follows from this reorientation is, because as we noted above disengagement produces inequities in access to learning--inequities that are systematic and that befall disproportionately to at-risk pupils, the enhancement of equity throughout restructuring schools.

New forms and methods of learning. If we define equity as equality of learning opportunities, then, in the final measure, restructuring will promote this value to the extent that the broad movements noted above spawn specific changes in the ways students have access to knowledge. At this concrete level, a number of alterations are evident in transforming schools that promise to significantly enhance equity objectives. Perhaps the most important of these is the recognition that "the data on individualized

differences . . . have more compelling implications for pedagogical than for curricular differentiation" (Goodlad, 1984, p. 289). Coupled with this developing understanding are efforts to replace a system of providing hierarchically organized knowledge and skills to students with a core body of high status knowledge which all students are expected to master, and then employing varying pedagogical approaches to ensure that all pupils are successful (Boyer, 1983; Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990; United States Department of Education, 1991).

Consistent with the emerging view of general (as opposed to specialized) education is an emphasis on "critical reasoning and higher order thinking" (Carnegie Council, 1989, p. 42) for all students (Collins, Hawkins, & Carver, 1991; O'Neil, 1989). Historically the province of higher ability groups and academic tracks (Murphy & Hallinger, 1989), restructuring schools are revising technical core operations to guarantee access to these skills for all pupils. Equally important from an equity perspective, grounded in research showing that basic and higher order skills are best mastered in tandem, at-risk students are no longer being denied access to critical thinking skills until they master more basic ones (Bransford, 1991; Collins, Hawkins, & Carver, 1991; United States Department of Education, 1991).[17]

Additional interrelated curricular changes unfolding in restructuring schools that seem likely to fuel advances on equity issues include stress on an interdisciplinary curriculum, the use of original source documents, focus on fewer matters but in greater depth, and a reorientation to issues of cultural diversity (Murphy, 1991). The first three of these movements, while designed to enhance the engagement of all students, appear particularly promising for reconnecting those students who are the least comfortable with existing curricular structures in schools (United States Department of Education, 1991). That is, because "the current state of splendid isolation" (Boyer, 1983, p. 114), "the swamp called coverage" (Sizer, 1984, p. 131), and the "highly simplified view of reality" provided by textbooks (Boyer, 1983, p. 143) are even more confusing to students who do not succeed in schools than to those that do, changes to integrated and meaningful approaches to learning augur well for more equitable access to knowledge in tomorrow's schools. The emphasis in the restructuring movement on the cultural and ethnic heritage

of students from diverse groups (United States Department of Education, 1991) and on creating an agenda for the technical core which values pupils' cultural resources as a basis for the development of new skills and knowledge (Cavalcante, 1991), also lends considerable momentum to equity policy goals (Committee on Policy for Racial Justice, 1989).[18]

Intertwined with these changes is a fundamental reorientation in our understanding of assessment--one that is isomorphic with the underlying equity values embedded in restructuring efforts. In restructuring schools, there is a metamorphosis in assessment goals from sorting students into pre-established categories to serving learning (Newmann, 1991). In broadening assessment systems to measure learning, there is no longer only one epistemologically privileged (and somewhat culturally biased) method of demonstrating knowledge. Students historically disadvantaged by prevailing assessment methods are provided a wider array of avenues to show mastery (United States Department of Education, 1991).

Notes

[1]As Goodlad (1984) reminds us, schooling has also been defined by different sets of objectives.

[2]It is important to note that a variety of forces in addition to the effects research combined during the 1980s to create these principles. I emphasize that work here because the reforms of the early-to-mid 1980s were heavily modeled on formulas from the effects research, especially studies of effective schools.

[3]It is important to emphasize that the entire school effectiveness movement on which the reform agenda of the 1980s was built is grounded in efforts to improve the performance of those students that schools have historically failed to educate well; that is, low-income, urban pupils.

[4]Perhaps there is no more tangible proof of this phenomena than the widespread disaggregation of test scores by gender, race, and socio-economic status, a practice conspicuous by its absence before the onslaught of effective schools research in the 1970s and 1980s.

[5]It was the very absence of these discrete categorical programs in the reform initiatives of the 1980s that led many to conclude that equity issues were being ignored (Natriello, McDill, & Pallas, 1990).

[6]The same claim can be made about previous efforts at school improvement. The term "school effectiveness," for example, includes a variety of elements that original researchers in the area would be hard pressed to recognize.

[7]This model is reprinted by permission of the publisher from Murphy, Joseph, Restructuring Schooling: Capturing and Assessing the Phenomena (New York: Teachers College Press, c 1991 by Teachers College, Columbia University. All rights reserved), p. 16.

[8]The reader will notice a movement from macro to micro constructs as well as an evolution from inputs through school processes (activities in the black box). It is not inconceivable that a fourth generation definition of equity in tomorrow's schools will be

concerned with the distribution of outcomes. There is, indeed, some evidence that we are moving in that direction.

[9]A number of thoughtful critics have questioned the extent to which connections between schooling and the economic health of the country can be drawn. Kerr (1991), for example, argues that the case has been poorly developed at best.

[10]Other critics raise fundamental questions about constructing educational renewal on an ethic of economic competitiveness (see Beck, 1991; Giroux, 1988; Mitchell, 1990).

[11]It is also worth noting that the competitive ethic for the first time in our history has helped create an environment in which the needs of the corporate sector are isomorphic with rich new cognitive conceptions of teaching and learning (Murphy, 1991).

[12]I am deeply indebted to Lynn G. Beck at UCLA for her insightful review of this section. These paragraphs draw primarily upon her work (Beck, 1991).

[13]"Studenting" as a concept appears to have been developed by Fenstermacher (1986). I am indebted to him for his analysis in this area; see also Evertson and Murphy (in press).

[14]The regular education initiative currently being debated and increasingly implemented in special education is perhaps the clearest and most comprehensive example of restructuring in this area.

[15]Other scheduling patterns that facilitate the development of these social bonds are also evident in restructuring schools. The use of home-base guidance programs in which students are attached to a specific teacher over their entire three or four years of schooling is one example (Bradley, 1989).

[16]It is important to note that compared to the changed roles of teachers, administrators, and parents, discussions of the emerging role of the student have not been particularly robust (Ericson & Ellett, 1989, 1990).

[17]It is worth noting here that the development of the ability by all, especially pupils from historically disadvantaged groups, to think critically is likely to lead to efforts to address larger equity concerns in society as well.

[18]While the use of students' cultural resources as a basis for instruction finds considerable support in the abstract, its implementation in restructuring schools has been subject to formidable debate (Asante, 1991; Ravitch, 1991).

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